1: Karsten- 267 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 592, 622, 701 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros as we have seen each family father is theoretically absolute ruler over his house people, and in times of peace there is no recognized common chief even within the tribe, and still less any exercising authority over several tribes. The Jibaros have not even a proper name for a chief. The word capitu, which is sometimes used, is borrowed from the Spanish and is used principally to denote a white man of importance. It is only in times of war that a chieftainship exists; that is to say, during those great wars of extermination which are carried out against other Jibaro tribes. Such a temporary chief of war is generally only called únta, 'the old one', because the chiefs are nearly always old, experienced men who have killed many enemies and captured many heads. The small blood-feuds within the tribe, on the other hand, have a more private character and as a rule are not fought out under the leadership of a common chief."

1: Karsten--267 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 622, 701, 827 (1928-29)

"The dignity of a chieftain is hereditary in a relative sense, in so far that the son of a chief is generally elected chief in time of war after his father has died or grown decrepit. This, however, can only take place if he has proved a valiant and skilled warrior and has killed enemies. No Jibaro is selected as a chief if he has not killed at least one enemy. The Jibaros have absolute faith in the heritability of prominent qualities, and ascribe extraordinary importance to education and the power of example. The son of a great chief, they say, must necessarily also become an able warrior because he is, as it were, a direct continuation of his father, has received a careful education for the deeds of war, and has always had the good example of his great father before his eyes."

1: Karsten--267-268 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 622, 701 (1928-29)

"The authority of the chief elected for a war is very great. It is he alone who arranges everything for the expedition planned, who decides [268] about the time for and the mode of making the attack, and the younger warriors oblige themselves to obey him in everything. But as soon as a war has been carried to a successful end the power of the chief ceases, and he has, in spite of the great repute he always enjoys, no more authority or right to decide about the doings of his tribesmen than any other family-father among the Jibaros."

2: Stirling--39[3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701

"The number of households under the influence of a given curaka is subject to a great deal of fluctuation. It frequently happens that a strong curaka will build up a fairly powerful group of warriors about him. A weak curaka or capito may have a blood-revenge killing to attend to but will find himself outnumbered by the enemy to such an extent that he is afraid to attempt a killing with his own group. In this event he is likely to call upon the strong curaka to arrange the killing for him, paying him with a gun or a woman. Often, too, a weak curaka, fearing that his group would not be able successfully to defend themselves against an attack from enemies, will voluntarily place himself and his group under the influence of the strong curaka in a loose sort of alliance. In this way the strong group tends to grow and to become even stronger until one curaka may have 8 or 10 lesser curakas more or less under his control. This state of affairs is usually not very permanent. Owing to the loose organization and lack of any real power on the part of the head curaka, the large group becomes unwieldy or develops diverse interests and it tends to split up again into independent units. Consequently, in as little as 2 or 3 years' time, the original head curaka may find that one or more of his former lieutenants are now stronger than he."

2: Stirling--40 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 701, 721

"Two examples personally encountered, illustrating the manner in which tribal organization changes, may serve to make more clear the nature of these groupings.

Four or five years ago there was a strong chief on the Upano River named Tuki, known to the Ecuadoreans as José Grande. In the manner previously described, all of the curakas from Macas on the Upano River to Mendez on the Paute River became subchiefs under him until he was generally recognized as the strongest of all of the Jivaro curakas. However, he was beginning to grow old by this time and some of his subcurakas were strong men in their own right. About 2 years ago, Ambusha, who had been gradually gaining in power and becoming famous for his head-hunting activities, split off with his own group, taking several curakas and their men with him. A little later Utita did the same thing. At the time of the writer's visit (1931), although Tuki was recognized by the Government of Ecuador as being head chief of the Macas-Mendez region, actually he had lost all power excepting that over his own family group and was in reality no more than a capito. These divisions of the organization, if it may be termed such, took place apparently without any ill-feeling or formal announcements.

The other example serves to illustrate the effect which warfare may have upon tribal groups. In 1925 the region of the Canga River and the upper Yaupe was very populous and prosperous. The Indians here were a warlike group confident of their own strength and much feared by all of the Indians in neighboring regions. The curaka of the Canga Jivaros was a well-known warrior called Cucusha. Anguasha (pl. 4, d), another warlike

leader, was head of the Yaupe group. The two had always been close friends and companions. During a period of 10 or 15 years they compiled a notable war record, each being credited individually with more than 50 heads during this time. Their raids extended to all of the tribes in the district and some quite distant, until they became the terror of the region. However, these constant raids under two such aggressive leaders began to take their toll of men. Although many victories were registered, they were constantly losing warriors, until eventually their numbers were appreciably reduced. In 1927 Cucuaha paid a friendly visit to the Indians of the upper Morona. In 1929 he became sick and died."

2: Stirling--40-41 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 624, 701, 721

"Among the Jivaros the chieftainship theoretically is inherited by the eldest son. In the ordinary course of event, Cucusha's son, Asapa, would have succeeded him. Asapa, however, was sickly and not able to go to war. Therefore he went to Anguasha and said to him:

'Our tribes have become lately much reduced in number. Our warriors have been killed and many of our women stolen. I am not fitted to be a curaka. [41] My father was a cousin of your father. I think it would be best for you to be curaka to both groups, which can now be as one.'

Thus the Canga and Yaupe tribes were consolidated under Anguasha. Shortly after Cucusha's death Anguasha was spoiling for a fight. Someone happened to remember Cucusha's visit to the Morona 2 years previously , and it was decided that a wishinu from the Morona had brought about his death. The lance was dug up. Anguasha gathered his warriors together and crossed the mountains dividing the Yaupe and the Morona. They attacked, found their opponents well entrenched and well prepared for their coming, with the result that all of Anguasha's warriors excepting two were killed. Anguasha himself received a bullet in the back but managed to escape. Thus was the once powerful Canga-Yaupe alliance practically exterminated."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

554 888 778 789 756 While the concept of the *untí* ideally encompasses all of the characteristics described, it is possible to acquire the designation with no formal qualifications other than simply having lived long enough to exhibit a few gray hairs and to have many grandchildren. Such an achievement receives respect as a sign of supernatural power, and an elderly *untí* of this sort is believed to have the ability to curse to death anyone who incurs his anger. No other kind of person is considered to possess this ability. Partly out of fear of being cursed, young men in the neighborhood assist him in land clearing and other tasks when he requests their aid. [701] While the elderly *untí*'s opinion is normally respected, he usually is not a real leader unless he is also outstanding as a killer, shaman, or good host. Thus the true "big men" are distinguished not only by longevity but by real leadership and generosity.

Kakaram, *the "Powerful Ones"*

554 756 701 Given such factors as the absence of any formal political organization and even of unilineal descent groups, as well as the pervasive belief in shamanistically induced illness and death, the conflict over women, and the emphasis on retaliatory sanctions and feuding, it should not be unexpected that the leaders in Jivaro society are outstanding killers and shamans. Although such leadership is informal, almost all neighborhoods have at least one or two noted killers and a few superior shamans who are valued as protectors of their neighboring relatives, or at least of those with whom they are on friendly terms. Such leadership roles are earned and, in the case of the killers, acquired literally through life-and-death struggle.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untú*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[2]

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsentsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his.

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece).

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 701 554 piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and aggressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his [865] public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it, with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such [562] [581] a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

701 554 626 While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset, a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untsi* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

701 721 When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp. 135–43), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded. While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

After the successful completion of the killing expedition, and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ti kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

own self-interest. By the time a *ti kakaram* is achieving such status and power, he tends to be already elderly, and, instead of continuing to lead expeditions himself, will usually send his sons or sons-in-law.

A famous *kakaram* sometimes may even be sent an invitation, through intermediaries, to kill someone in another tribe, usually an Achuara. The invitation sent by the non-Jívaro carries with it the tacit understanding that the *kakaram* and his followers, since they are from another tribe, will conduct themselves in the form of a war raid, rather than the intra-tribal assassination expedition which goes after only a single victim. Thus they are expected to attack the entire household of the intended victim, taking heads and seizing women. The inviter is usually someone with great hatred for his enemy who views the bringing in of outsiders to do the job as an opportunity for retribution beyond anything that he could do directly. He will guide the *kakaram* and his war party to the house of the victim and, after the attack, one of the grateful head-takers will give their guide a shotgun as a token of appreciation.

The co-operation provided by such non-*untsuri huarā* inviters has sometimes made it possible for the Jívaro to travel incredibly far to kill. In one fondly remembered case, the assistance given by a *tsumu huarā* (Huambisa) inviter-guide made it possible for a Jívaro expedition to pass down the Río Santiago by canoe through the entire Huambisa tribe and to wipe out most of an Aguaruna household on the Río Marañon below the Pongo de Manseriche.

Shamans and Shaman Hierarchies

Shamans (*uwilin*), more numerous than outstanding killers, often wield considerable power in the neighborhood. The

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*) and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam* soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[8] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempts against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment.

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way.

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above.

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *neká wakanï*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished.

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *untä* with renown as a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is entombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death.

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jívaro as the guilty party.

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination.

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher.

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

721 killing of a specific individual in the same tribe which characterizes feuding. A less emphasized war objective is to capture women. No case could be found of war being pursued to seize territory.

628 721 765 [727] [825] There is a "gray" area in which the patterns of feuding and war overlap to a limited degree. This seems to be a reflection of such factors as the absence of a tribal political structure, the intermittent escalation of intra-tribal feuding, and the relative isolation of many neighborhoods from one another. Thus, while full-fledged head-taking raids are only launched against other groups "that speak differently," i.e., have different dialects or languages, such as the Achuara, the assassination of a man belonging to a very distant neighborhood within the tribe may be followed occasionally by the taking of his head or by taking hair from his head to make a *tsantsa* with a tree gourd (see pp. 147–48). The latter type of *tsantsa* may also be made with the hair of a victim from a closer neighborhood provided that enmity towards its population is extremely strong in the killer's own locality.

726 • 701 727 554 624 [796] [342] A war or head-taking raid is organized by a man who is a *kakaram*, and who has previously killed at least three or four persons.[2] When the *kakaram* decides to lead a raid, he asks an *untă* of his neighborhood, ideally a respected, elderly man who has also killed at least several times, to be the *wea*, or master of ceremonies, for the first celebration when the raiding party returns. If he agrees, the *kakaram* and some of the expected participants in the expedition build the *wea* a new, large house for the feast, the construction work usually taking some months.

726 702 When the house is finished, and about two weeks before the planned expedition, the organizer sends spies to the Achuara neighborhood he plans to attack in order to select the most likely house(s) for assault. Then he sends a son or son-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

they drink from jars of beer placed before them, and the *wea* declares, "I am very hungry. Bring me plenty of fish." This is a metaphorical allusion to the Achuara, who subsist on fish much more than the Jívaro, and to the *tsantsa* which are to be brought back wrapped up in cloth, much as fish are brought from the river wrapped in moist leaves to keep them fresh.

The *kakaram* warrior sponsoring the raid is usually the expedition leader or chief. There is no special title for this role, beyond the usual *untä*. There may be two war chiefs if the neighborhood that has the biggest representation in the expedition is one other than the sponsor's. The war leader(s) is theoretically expected to be strictly obeyed by the other members of the party, but only for the duration of the expedition, while it is in hostile territory.

Obedience, even on a war expedition, is often not as rigorous in practice as it is in theory. Any member of the party who tells the war leader that he has "dreamed badly" and therefore would like to avoid participating in the attack, is invariably excused from such participation. In the actual attack, some of the inexperienced and less aggressive warriors are backed up by a few *kakaram* who encourage their advance forward.

Since the war expedition is normally composed of men from a number of neighborhoods, some of whom are bound to be enemies of others, the members of the party tend to be organized into a "buddy system" in which pairs of close relatives "cover" one another from assassination by another expedition member. In this manner, it is possible to organize a large force despite the fact that many of its members may be enemies. This system has undoubtedly contributed to the ability of the Jívaro to ally against outside invaders in the past.